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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2825

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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SUBJECT: ZAMBIAN STATE HOUSE OFFICIAL DISILLUSIONED WITH EVENTS IN ANGOLA, SEES DECLINING PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA

1. IN CONVERSATION TODAY WITH ASSISTANT PRESIDENTIAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISER PETER KASANDA MAINLY REGARDING CONTROVERSIAL, PRO-ANGOLAN INTERVENTION FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL IN THE PARTY'S TIMES OF ZAMBIA OF FEB 13, WHICH LITERALLY CHEERS RUSSIANS AND CUBANS ON TO FINISH OFF ANGOLA AND GET ON LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INTO NAMIBIA (SEPTEL), KASANDA SURPRISED ME BY HIS ATTITUDE

OF DESPAIR. IN SIDING WITH EDITORIAL THEME, HE SAID SOVIETS AND CUBANS MIGHT AS WELL TAKE ANGOLA, AS WE AFRICANS ARE UTTERLY DEFENSELESS AND INCAPABLE OF RESISTING.

- 2. TAKEN ABACK WITH THIS, I ASKED KASANDA HOW HE COULD TAKE SUCH AN ATTITUDE. HE PROMPTLY TURNED CONVERSATION TO RHODESIA WHERE HE SAID SITUATION ALSO BAD, IF NOT HOPELESS FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. SAID TALKS HAD BROKEN OFF AND UNLIKELY TO RESUME. HE PERSONALLY FELT ZAMBIA MAY HAVE BEEN MISTAKEN IN EVER HAVING WORKED TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. SUGGESTING THAT THE SITHOLES MAY HAVE BEEN RIGHT ALL ALONG. ZAMBIA HAD INVESTED ALL IT HAD IN PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BUT NOW FINDS ITSELF "AT END OF ROAD". SITUATION FOLLOWING BREAKDOWN OF SMITH-NKOMO TALKS CLEARLY MEANS SOVIETS WILL MOVE ON AFTER ANGOLA TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ESPECIALLY RHODESIA WHERE THEY WOULD REPEAT THEIR INTERVENTION. KASANDA SPOKE WITH MUCH EMOTION IN EXPRESSING HIS DISAPPOINTMENT THAT SOVIETS AND CUBANS WERE ALLOWED TO GO UNRESISTED BY US AND WEST IN ANGOLA.
- 3. KASANDA ASKED WHY WESTERN COUNTRIES WOULD ALLOW EVERYTHING THEY BELIEVE IN AND STAND FOR IN PRINCIPLE TO BE THROWN TO THE WIND. WHY NOT KNOCK SENSE INTO SMITH WHOSE SOLE OBJECTIVE IS AFRICAN AGREEMENT TO EXISTING STATUS QUO AND MINORITY RULE IN RHODESIA. BASED ON HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCE AS ZAMBIAN OBSERVER AT SMITH-NKOMO TALKS, KASANDA SEES SMITH AS WHOLLY UNREALISTIC AND OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE MOOD OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. YET SMITH REFLECTS A BODY OF WHITE MINORITY THINKING IN RHODESIA WHICH OUESTIONS WHY, AFTER BLACKS WERE GIVEN BETTER LIVING, EDUCATION, AND HEALTH FACILITIES BY WHITES, THEY NOW HAVE "BAD MANNERS" TO ASK TO RUN GOVERNMENT. KASANDA LAUGHED BITTERLY AT THIS NARROW AND SELFISH POINT OF VIEW EXPRESSED TO HIM BY TYPICAL RHODESIAN WHITES SUPPORTING SMITH. REITERATED THAT HIS EXPERIENCE AT SMITH-NKOMO TALKS HAD COMPLETELY DISILLUSIONED HIM. WHILE TALKS HAVE BROKEN OFF, OBJECTIVE OF MAJORITY RULE REMAINS. ONLY OPTION NOW IS GUERRILLA WARFARE IN PURSUIT OF COMMON OBJECTIVE OF NKOMO AND SITHOLE. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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4. KASANDA DESCRIBED NKOMO AS "COMPLETELY DESTROYED" BY SMITH WHO REFUSED HIS HAND OF FRIENDSHIP THAT WOULD HAVE BROUGHT PEACE FOR FUTURE. KASANDA PREDICTED THAT NOTWITH-STANDING ACKNOWLEDGED INFLUENCE WHICH ZAMBIA HAS OVER NKOMO, SMITH'S BLIND ACTION IS FAST DRIVING NKOMO INTO HANDS OF SOVIETS WHERE HE CAN EXPECT ARMS AND OTHER SUPPORT TO WAGE GUERRILLA WAR NOW BUILDING UP.

5. KASANDA RETURNED TO THEME OF NOT UNDERSTANDING POSITION OF US AND WEST IN TURNING ITS BACK ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. SAID AMERICAN PEOPLE REGRETTABLY WERE HAUNTED BY MEMORY OF VIETNAM BUT LESSON LEARNED THERE--NOT TO GET INVOLVED ABROAD IN FUTURE--WOULD IN END BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. AMERICA WOULD WAKE UP ONE DAY TO REALIZE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS BEEN IRRETRIEVABLY LOST TO SOVIETS. A CONCERTED EFFORT LATER IN TIME WAS BOUND TO ENGENDER MORE BITTERNESS THAN NOW EXISTS AGAINST US AND WEST.

6. TRAGIC THING, KASANDA CONTINUED, IS THAT US WITH ITS DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM HAS BUILT-IN ACCOUNTABILITY, WHEREAS SOVIETS DO NOT. RESULT IS SOVIETS ARE CRUEL, RUTHLESS AND OPPORTUNISTIC. KASANDA CONCLUDED HIS RATHER EMOTIONAL PRESENTATION BY RECALLING PRES KAUNDA'S WORDS, "IF POLITICS ARE WITHOUT MORALITY, THEY ARE WORTHLESS LEAVING PEOPLE TO LIVE AS BRUTES."

7. COMMENT: KASANDA HAS BEEN SEEING PRES KAUNDA EVERY DAY AND SOMETIMES SEVERAL TIMES A DAY AS DEPUTY AND ACTING FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISER DURING TWO WEEKS' ABSENCE OF MARK CHONA IN US, CANADA, UK AND WESTERN EUROPE. WHEN QUESTIONED, HE CLAIMED THESE WERE HIS OWN VIEWS BUT WE CAN BE CERTAIN HE WOULD NOT SPEAK THEM UNLESS THEY REFLECTED KAUNDA'S OWN DEEP DISCOURAGEMENT AS WELL. AT DINNER FOR VISITING IBM CHAIRMAN CARY FEB 12 WHICH ATTENDED BY RANKING MEMBERS OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT, SEVERAL LEADERS OPENLY SPOKE OF "VERY BAD SITUATION" IN ANGOLA AND RHODESIA AND GLOOMY OUTLOOK FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA. HOME AFFAIRS MINISTER AARON MILNER ECHOED FEELING OF FRUSTRATION, SAYING "SOVIETS WANT TO BRING ZAMBIANS TO THEIR KNEES." IN EXCHANGE FOR RECOGNITION OF MPLA, I ASKED, TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WHICH MILNER MADE NO REPLY. ALL PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS AT DINNER SAID THEY DEEPLY TROUBLED ABOUT POWERLESSNESS OF US AND WEST TO ACT TO STOP SOVIET INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. DEPRESSED AND NEAR DESPERATE MOOD OF ZAMBIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS COULD WELL RELATE TO SITREP REVIEWED AT ALL-DAY CABINET MEETING WITH KAUNDA FEB 11 AND FOLLOW-ON MEETING AT STATE HOUSE WHICH TOOK MOST CABINET OFFICIALS AWAY FROM IBM DINNER FEB 12 JUST AS DESSERT SERVED. WILKOWSKI

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